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To the
University of California
with the compliments of
Clay MacLanely
June 28/17

THE HEUSKEN MEMORIAL

AN OLD STORY RETOLD

"Patriots have toiled, and in their country's cause
Bled nobly ; and their deeds, as they deserve,
Receive proud recompense. We give in charge
Their names to the Historic Muse :——
—— and Sculpture, in her turn,
Gives bond in stone and ever-during brass
To guard them, and to immortalize her trust."

Cowper.

CLAY MACCAULEY

Tokyo, Japan

1917

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The release of Japan from its medieval thralldom, and the restoration of its Emperor to actual and visible sovereignty, under a large measure of the influences that are directing the progressive civilization of the world, is one of the most interesting, and also, lamentably, one of the most tragic episodes marked in human history. The coming of the American Perry Expedition in the early "Fifties" was not much more than a decisive initial incident in the process ; but it happened to be used as the occasion for the especially disastrous decade that lay between the gaining of the "Harris Treaty" and the achievement of the "Imperial Restoration" (1858-1868) ; a period in which many hapless benefactors of this Empire, both Japanese and Foreign, were compelled to give their lives in sacrifice, because of the day which was about to dawn,

No consecutive, particularized account of that ten years, so far as I know, has, as yet, been put upon record. Possibly we are still too near the troubled time for that. It may be, too, that some of the leading actors in it are yet living;—certainly, some of their immediate descendants are now alive; and, naturally, many of these would not be willing to accept the burden that the record would lay upon them.

However, as a matter of needful historic service; in order that there may be an adequate memory of the Empire's emancipation and of the beginnings of its later enlightenment and prosperity, I deem it to be eminently desirable that there should be, as comprehensively as possible, while there is still opportunity, intimate testimonials given to the official worth, at least, of those who were foremost in the better efforts then devoted to the advancement of the country.

A fortunate happening has turned my attention anew to the name of one worthy

actor in those momentous times and to the tragic part he was compelled to take in the movement of events then. I speak of a young Hollander, Henry C. J. Heusken, who had been taken into the service of the first American diplomatic Representative, Hon. Townsend Harris, commissioned to the Shogun's Government in 1856. The interest aroused by this recollection has resulted in the following monograph.

I publish this essay as a well-deserved memorial of one of the most effective of the less known, but yet leading actors in the early guidance of Japan into its present wonderful share in the world's advancing civilization ; and, also, as a contribution of important value to the needed adequate account of the critical decade to which I have referred. This adequate account, I hope that some just scholar will in the near future prepare and make generally accessible.

CLAY MACCAULEY.

June, 1917,
Tokyo, Japan.

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The Heusken Memorial

The American Revolution

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THE HEUSKEN MEMORIAL.

AN OLD STORY RETOLD

BY CLAY MACCAULEY.

1.

The Historical Background of the Tragedy.

The American Memorial Day, May 30th, 1917, was signalized in Tokyo by a gathering in the cemetery of Korin-ji—an old monastery in Hiroo-machi, Azabu-ku—of a small group of ladies and gentlemen,—representative, however, of the American Embassy, the Netherlands Legation, the American Association of Japan, the America-Japan Society, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, the Grand Army of the Republic and the Boy Scouts of Japan,—assembled there for the purpose of decorating with flowers the grave of Mr. Henry C. J. Heusken, who, in 1861, “died at Yedo,” now Tokyo.

But who was Mr. Heusken; and why was his grave given this signal honor?

Upon the monument surmounting the grave is this inscription :—

SACRED
to the Memory of
HENRY C. J. HEUSKEN,
Interpreter to the
AMERICAN LEGATION
in Japan.
BORN AT AMSTERDAM,
January 20, 1832.
DIED AT YEDO,
January 16, 1861.

Mr. Heusken, in the course of his official service, became the victim of a band of Japanese "Ronin" who, under the conditions then disturbing this country, believed that they were doing a patriotic duty to kill the foreigners who had recently been allowed, by the Shogun's Government, to become resident in the Capital. Because of his prominent performance of official duty, these *ronin* had chosen this young man for sacrifice.

RECENT "DISCOVERY" OF THE MONUMENT.

The fact of Mr. Heusken's assassination has always been known to persons acquainted with Japan's



THE HEUSKEN MONUMENT AT THE KORIN-JI.



modern history ; but the details of the event, for many years past, have been lost to general knowledge, and the place of his burial had become almost universally unknown. By a turn of good fortune, however, a little more than two years ago, the grave was again brought to public attention, and now it has been taken under the care of the American Association of Japan, an organization which has among its objects a permanent commemoration of the services of those who in this land have given their lives in patriotic devotion to the American Republic. The turn of good fortune, of which I speak, came through the Rt. Rev. C. H. Boutflower, D.D. (Bishop Cecil) of the Anglican Communion in Japan, who, not long ago, lived near the Korin-ji. Occasionally he visited the grave, which had been pointed out to him, and found that it was not unknown to Japanese neighbors. From time to time some kindly hand had put fresh *sasaki* branches in their bamboo holders before it, so that the tomb of this solitary "foreigner," distinguishable only by its lettering from the similar stones ranked alongside, was not quite wholly neglected in the offices of piety paid to neighboring graves. The Bishop drew the attention of some of the American Embassy to the place, and mentioned the matter to Mrs. J. T. Swift, living on the hill near by, with the consequence that on the next "Memorial Day," two years ago, by invitation of Prof. and Mrs. Swift, a

party of American friends, among whom were Dr. and Mrs. Post Wheeler and Captain and Mrs. Baldwin of the American Embassy, Bishop John McKim, D.D., of the American Episcopal Mission, Rev. Dr. C. S. Reifsnider, Rev. C. F. Sweet, Mr. and Mrs. J. McD. Gardiner, Miss Schereschewsky, together with Carol, Howard and Leonora Swift, met at the grave, where some memorial flowers and the American flag were placed upon the lone monument, and a simple, appropriate religious service was conducted by Bishop McKim. Last year, no special ceremony at the grave marked the "Memorial Day"; but this year the Day brought together, as already noted, a group of friends who decorated the monument with a large floral wreath. It was announced then that measures had been taken to enclose the monument with a protective railing, and henceforward to continue it among the burial places which Americans, from year to year, will honor on their "Memorial Day."

CLEARING UP THE OBSCURE PAST.

Now, in order that this part of the National remembrance of America's "Honored Dead" may be intelligently observed, I have been seeking to recover, as fully as is to-day possible, the facts of the far-past in which Mr. Heusken's life was sacrificed, and to retell in this public way the old story.

About twenty-five years ago, having then become somewhat interested in what had occurred in the disturbed days of Japan's modern reopening to intercourse with foreign nations, I read a note telling of Mr. Heusken's tragic death. I was told, too, that his body lay in the Korin-ji cemetery. It happened, at the time, that I visited the monastery's grounds in one of my walks; and I remember that, along with the general interest I had in the beautiful place, I thought of Mr. Heusken, and, for a while, looked for a grave that might be his. But I had had no definite information about it; and what small search I made was not at all thorough. Besides, no especially active interest led me to inquire further.

There was at the American Legation, however, in those early "Nineties" a gentleman, then its First Secretary, who could have answered some of the more pertinent of the questions that have needed answer,—the Hon. Edwin Dun. From him I am now enabled to make some of the later important parts of the obscure past in our story, clear.

Mr. Dun came to Japan in 1873, appointed to office in the Agricultural Bureau of the Colonization Department of the Hokkaido only twelve years after Mr. Heusken's death. There was residing, then, at the Korin-ji, a Major Bartlett of the United States Marine Corps, in service as professor in the Naval College at Tsukiji. During the following two years,

Mr. Dun was a frequent visitor at the Korin-ji ; and at times he saw the Heusken grave over which the monument now there, given by some one to him still unknown, had been erected. After Major Bartlett's departure from Tokyo in 1875, Mr. Dun ceased his visits to the Korin-ji. There was nothing later to remind him of the Heusken grave until about twenty years ago, when he was Minister of the American Legation. At that time word was brought to him that the monument to Mr. Heusken had fallen, or been overthrown, and was in danger of destruction. Mr. Dun at once visited the cemetery ; found the monument lying upon the ground, broken and almost covered with earth. He had the monument cleaned, repaired and restored to position ; and thereafter, until 1897, when his term of office was closed, he paid to one of the monastery priests a small fee, annually, to keep the grave in good condition. During the twenty years that have since passed, in the many official changes that have been taking place, naturally the grave has gradually lapsed from public, or official knowledge, and it might in time have passed wholly from human ken had not the happy accident of two years ago again brought it to attention and to public care.

But by this good fortune interest in the lone grave of this man whose life was sacrificed on " the firing line " of patriotic duty, has been renewed, and opportunity

has thereby come for a permanent record of the sequence of events in which Mr. Heusken became a victim to the assassins under whose swords he was killed.

A GLANCE AT THE TIME OF TRAGEDY.

We should remember clearly in recalling this old story, that this tragedy came to pass only seven years after Commodore Perry had, in a way, forced an official allowance from the rapidly failing Shogunate Government of Japan for the admittance of foreigners into the country at any of its ports ; and less than three years after Townsend Harris had, by constant insistence, secured residence for any foreigners in the Capital City, Yedo ; and also that the tragedy happened only about six years before the Shogunate finally fell through the great Revolution by which the Emperor was restored to actual sovereignty over the nation. All through these years, the weakening Government at Yedo was distracted between two most portentous forces,—the insistent foreigners, and the conspiring Daimiates or the clans that had determined to overthrow the Shogun in the name of the Mikado.

Hon. Townsend Harris, representing the American National Union, had been allowed to take up residence in the far away port of Shimoda, soon after Commodore Perry's departure from Japan in 1854.

This privilege came in consequence of stipulations set in the memorable Agreement that the American Commodore had secured ;—the first granting of consent of any kind made by the Shogun's Government for reentrance into the long closed ways of intercourse with the world's other peoples. Thenceforward, so it was agreed, two Japanese ports might be used by Americans,—Shimoda and Hakodate,—a narrow opening through the centuries old barriers, but still an opening. General trading, however, was not to be engaged in even at these places. A Consul might stay of one of the ports, but his work must be limited wholly to that port ; he could not represent his country, like a " Minister, in affairs of international import." Thereupon, in August 1856, Townsend Harris arrived at Shimoda from China, and, in that almost inaccessible fishing village, as the Consul General from the United States, he lived until 1857, isolated from the common life of the country and barely tolerated by officials and the people.

Then, Mr. Harris fairly forced an audience for himself with the so-called " Tycoon," at the Capital, that he might present to the highest authority of the empire " a letter from the American President." Once in Yedo, Mr. Harris remained there until in the early spring of 1858 ; by which time he had framed a " Treaty of Residence and of Commerce " for foreigners at a number of specified Japanese ports. Thus he had

actually begun the breaking down of the barriers which at length fell and opened the country to full international fellowship and preparation for its present wonderful national prosperity.

How great an advance in international fellowship was then gained may be seen by a glance at the extraordinary concessions made in the "Harris Treaty" by the large minded Tairo, or Chief of State, Lord Ii Kamon-no-Kami ;—concessions, however, for which a terrible vengeance was soon consummated by men who would not see in them any thing other than treason or betrayal of their country to the hated foreigner.

A memorial history :—"Lord Ii Naosuke and New Japan," from the pen of Nakamura Katsumaro, translated into English by Akimoto Shun, and recently published, preserves some exceptionally valuable details of Lord Ii's epoch-making work. In the chapter, "How Lord Ii Moulded the National Destiny," are some highly interesting statements that excellently serve the story I am here telling. It is said there, after a description of the development of the "bitter political enmity" between the Lord of Mito (Nariaki) and the Lord of Hikone (Ii Naosuke) that Nariaki became implacably hostile to Harris. So severe was this antagonism that when he was told that negotiations for a treaty had been begun, he became furious and exclaimed, "Let Bitchu and Iga commit harakiri ; and decapitate Harris at once." But

Nariaki's power in the Shogunate had failed. His party, then, were sworn to carry through "the reign of terror" for both Japanese and foreigners, that followed in the next decade.

LORD II'S DECISIVE ACT.

Lord Ii continued his negotiations with Townsend Harris. As Tairo, he was invested with plenary powers for this particular business; and he assumed their exercise, fully. I cannot repeat here the exciting story of the internal turbulence of the Shogun's Ministry in that momentous year, 1853. But it is a record of a most instructive sequence of critical events in which the developing American treaty was but one of the chief incidents. The crisis was so momentous for the Japanese themselves that Mr. Harris, early in June, consented to postpone the formal signing of the treaty for three months. Yet, in July uncontrollable circumstances, "occasioned by urgent pressure from foreign nations, completely upset Lord Ii's program, and threw the political situation in Japan into a chaos of agitation." The emergency was so acute that Minister Harris was impelled to urge the renewal of negotiations at once. An intense and most perilous conference of high Japanese officials then took place; Lord Ii, this time, feeling impelled to oppose Harris's request, and also the combined voice of the Shogun's Cabinet, which favored Harris. After a long struggle,

a final conference was held on July 29th. Lord Ii at length left the conference that he might have an hour for decisive meditation. Then he "summoned two of the Commissioners of Negotiations to his room and gave them his decision. The Commissioners, he ordered, should again urge Mr. Harris, as much as possible, to consent to a further postponement; but if their urging failed, they should then "sign the treaty at all hazards."

On going home that day, Lord Ii called together his principal retainers and related to them what had occurred at the Court. They were all astonished; and they besought their master to countermand the order to sign the treaty, "come what might," lest some dire calamity befall the historic Ii family. But, "No!" said Lord Ii, "family interests must not interfere with affairs of State."

"This was the memorable day on which Lord Ii made a resolution, of most vital consequence; causing a fierce political upheaval, culminating in the tragic sacrifice of his own life. He knew what this resolution would cost him, but he was ready to bear the entire responsibility."

Two days later the momentous treaty was signed. It declared perpetual friendly intercourse between the United States and Japan; establishing Legations in the two countries; establishing Consulates in several ports,—naming Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Niigata,

Hyogo, Yedo and Osaka ; assuring a free intercourse of the two peoples without official interference ; freedom of faith, and some other valuable international interests. The treaty was to have full force after July 4, 1859.

Immediately, the fury of Lord Ii's enemies became evident and gravely perilous. At first, Lord Ii was inclined to resign his office. But soon he decided to continue in it, and to do his work, whatever might befall.

From the midsummer of 1859, consequently, American commercial and diplomatic Representatives, together, at length, with diplomats from several other foreign States became permanent residents in the Japanese Capital City.

In these important beginnings of Japan's new national relationships, from an early date, the services rendered by Mr. Heusken, as interpreter and secretary, a Hollander called into the conduct of the American negotiations, were of the highest value. They gave him a distinctive prominence.

WHAT FOLLOWED THE FIRST TREATIES.

But the incoming of foreigners and their residence in the Capital was the occasion of a sequence of years of constant peril, strife and of many deaths among both Japanese and their unwelcome alien guests. Sir Rutherford Alcock, from whose book, "The Capital

of the Tycoon,"—a treasury of information concerning those critical days,—I have gathered much that I can put into my story, speaking of the treaty by which Japan's isolation was broken, wrote : " It was a success which has borne bitter fruit to all on the Japanese side who took any part in the signature of the treaty, or its negotiations, from the Tycoon to the subordinate secretaries and interpreters. Before the ink was well dry, a violent reaction seems to have taken place among the Daimios, inimical to such fundamental changes, which swept the whole of the actors from the scene ; the Tycoon and his ministers the first ; the one to his grave and the others to banishment and disgrace.

" There was something ominous in the fact that each of the two American treaties cost a reigning Tycoon his life. The one fell subsequent to Commodore Perry's first visit, and his life was taken, so the Japanese generally believe, as the penalty for admitting any intercourse ; and the second died immediately after the signature of Mr. Harris's treaty. A triumph to one contending party, but a signal of death to the other ! "

Sir Rutherford adds :—" Despite all contingent chance of inaccuracy, the record of the renewal of foreign relations in the history of Japan, was a long chapter of tragic events." " Every page seems to have been written in blood, and each phase to have

demand a victim. Of the number and identity of these there is at least no question."

"A complete palace revolution appears to have taken place, consequent on the double event of the signature of the second of the American treaties and the murder of the Tycoon."

"Thus were inaugurated the first two treaties—treaties which foreign Powers owe to the United States,—the first inserting the wedge of limited intercourse, for objects of humanity; the second splitting open the rock of Japanese obstruction, and opening the country to commerce—a fit preface to the long series of tragedies which were destined to mark the progress of foreign relations with a country containing so many hostile elements."

Herein lies the background of the scene in which the tragedy we are now commemorating was almost inevitably in the near future brought to pass.

2.

The Assassination; and the Burial.

Coming now, in the telling of this old story, directly to the event around which it centers, we learn that, in the year 1859, two resident Representatives of Foreign Governments, with a goodly number of persons constituting their staffs, were located in Yedo in two spacious temples set apart for their use by the Government.

The British Legation occupied the Buddhist Zenshu temple, named Tozen-ji, located in Takanawa-machi, Shiba-ku. The graceful building and grounds, later restored to religious service, may be seen just at the rear of the mansion in after years owned by Baron Sannomiya.

The American Legation was assigned to the temple, at the time connected with the Shingon-shu, named Zempukuji—"The Temple of Peace and Happiness." This temple now connected with the Hongwanji sect, is at present a popular center of religious worship. It is located on a hill-side in Yamamoto-cho, in Azabu-ku. Here are preserved many interesting Buddhist relics. And, protected in the compound, is, probably, the largest and oldest *icho* tree in the city, whose miraculous planting is ascribed to Shinran Shonin more than six hundred years ago. Also, in the grounds is a plum tree whose planter was the Third Shogun, Iyemitsu.

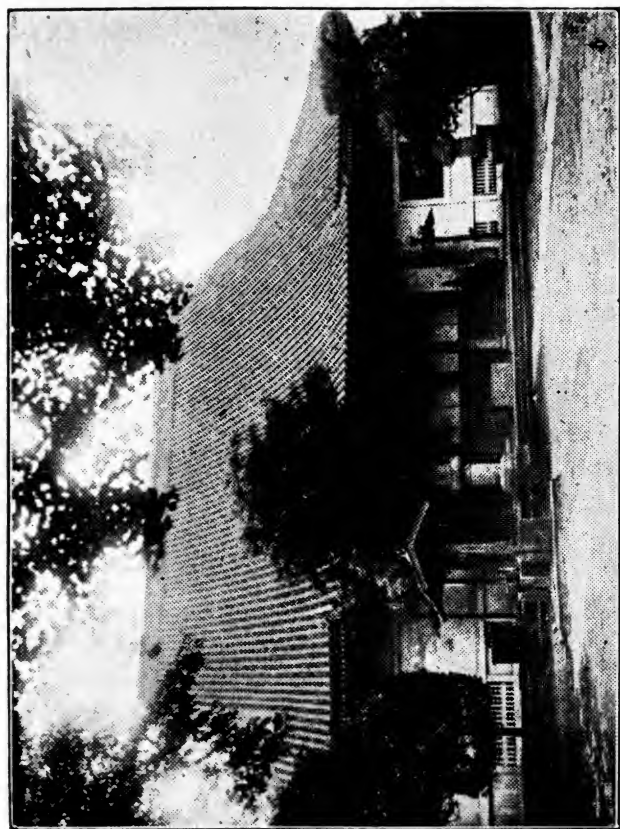
In this spacious temple the Hon. Townsend Harris was given domicile in 1859; here Mr. Heusken died in 1861; and here the American Legation remained for fourteen years,—until its transfer to Tsukiji in 1872-73.

But the Zempukuji of fifty years age was anything other than the abode of "peace and happiness" proclaimed for it by its name. Those days brought constant peril to its inmates from many hundreds of

men then in Yedo, sworn opponents to the opening of the sacred land of Japan to foreign intercourse,—leagued confederates, determined to destroy, if possible, the Government of the Shogun.

PERILS UNDER THE FAILING SHOGUNATE.

Those days were days of serious discomfort and of danger to all the foreigners who were then in Yedo, but I read, particularly, that Mr. Heusken, whose duties were of high importance and necessarily took him often into the streets, and from one Legation to another, was a number of times assaulted. I note that he was “repeatedly mobbed and molested when attempting to pass through populous quarters of the city,” especially when “near to the celebrated Nipon Bas” (Nihon Bashi). Various minor acts of rudeness and insult fell to the members of the British Legation, also. Sir Rutherford Alcock wrote that his staff “complained of acts of insolence, not always from common people but from officials, without the shadow of a pretext by provocation or offense that had been offered on their own part.” Many evidences of a serious anti-foreign hostility were shown in those times: “a hostility of the worst kind.” “It was clear that there was a powerful party among the hereditary Princes and Daimios, disposed to risk everything rather than permit peaceable intercourse and good relations with foreign Powers to be established.”



ZEMPUKUJI : THE FIRST HOME OF THE AMERICAN LEGATION IN JAPAN.



Late in 1859, the Consul of Holland and Mr. Heusken were walking "near the center of the city, when they were assailed by hundreds of men throwing stones, two officials being present at the time and stirring no hand to stop the outrage."

When the year 1860 opened, the foreigners in Yedo were "in the midst of portentous events." A Japanese linguist of the British Legation was assaulted ; and the temple occupied by the newly arrived French Representative was set on fire. "Frequent threats were heard that all the foreigners in Yedo were to be killed. Up to that time, in eight months, four assassinations had occurred, and six lives recklessly sacrificed in Yokohama and Yedo."

THE MURDER OF LORD II.

Then, in the spring of that year 1860, the Chief of State of the Shogunate, Lord Ii Kamon-no-Kami, was killed by a band of political assassins at the Sakurada Go Mon, on his way to the Shogun's castle. The Tairo, Lord Ii had given his entire energy, after the treaties with the Powers had been signed, "to securing reconciliation in appearance and at heart between the Tokugawa Government and the Imperial Court." But his enemies were implacable. During those months, so I read, "many a precious life was sacrificed and many a perilous adventure was experienced." Gradually, however, "good relations

between the Shogunate and the Imperial Court " seemed to be coming to pass. But, suddenly, " the nation was shaken to its foundation."

On March 24th, a great festival was to be observed at the Shogun's castle ; now the site of the palace of the Emperor. Lord Ii early that morning left his mansion, a *yashiki* located near to where " the General Staff Office " is to-day. A severe, untimely snow-storm was raging. Even objects close by were difficult to see. " Lord Ii's procession slowly waded its way through the heavily-laid snow. Near the Sakurada gate a band of men suddenly appeared, as if they had sprung from the earth, and made straight for Lord Ii's palanquin." His retainers fought through a furious struggle, but the tragedy " was at an end in a few moments." " Many lives were lost and many men wounded. The beautiful carpet of snow outside the Sakurada gate had turned crimson."

" Thus ended the busy and glorious career of the Tairo, Ii Kamon-no-Kami, Naosuke, Lord of Hikone."

THE FOREIGN LEGATIONS THREATENED.

At once after this dreadful murder, with good reason, the fear spread that the Foreign Legations would all be attacked, " not so much, however, from hostility to them as with a view of involving the existing Government, and bringing on a conflict with foreign Powers." The remainder of the year, natural-

ly, was passed by the foreigners in Yedo under the pressure of much anxiety.

The death of the Lord Nariaki, Prince of Mito, as I learn from Captain F. Brinkley's "History of Japan,"—the death occurring in the autumn of 1860,—“gave another blow to the already frail fabric of the Shogun's Government, for although this remarkable nobleman had acted a part inimical to the Yedo Court, his influence upon the turbulent *samurai* had been wholesome. He had succeeded in restraining them from acts of violence, especially against the persons of foreigners; and when his powerful hand was withdrawn, the situation became more uncontrollable and the lives and properties of foreigners began to be exposed to frequent perils.”

INCREASING DANGERS.

Where was this to end? I gather the impression, from records then made, that the Shogunate itself was already so much in danger that it was unable, even if it were willing, to give an effective protection to the foreigners for whom it had allowed residence in the capital. The chronicler I quote most freely, Sir Rutherford Alcock, says; “Either the Government at Yedo could not command the services of men courageous enough to defend Foreign Ministers and their suite from insult and murder, or, foreseeing that this would entail a chance of conflict with their

great Feudatories, deliberately took the chance of every foreigner being massacred."

On the New Year Day of 1861, the American Minister, Mr. Harris, sent Mr. Heusken to the British Legation with the message that he had been warned that a band of Mito *ronin*, several hundred in number, had banded themselves together with the intention of burning the foreign settlement in Yokohama, and of attacking and killing the members of each foreign Legation in Yedo. Altogether, there were fewer than one hundred and fifty Europeans and Americans resident at this time in the two places. Fortunately, the impending attack was for some reason delayed ; but then it was that the culmination of events with which our story is concerned was reached.

HEUSKEN'S ASSASSINATION.

On January 15, there was a gathering of plenipotentiaries and officials, met at the temporary residence of Count Eulenberg, a foreign diplomat lately arrived from Prussia, who after some months of tedious negotiations had completed a desired treaty with the Shogun. In a few days more, so it became known, this latest treaty was to be signed.

Among the busiest of the party at that day's conference was Mr. Heusken, who had been rendering the same important service to Count Eulenberg that

he had previously afforded to the British Lord Elgin and others, acting as interpreter. He stayed with Count Eulenberg for dinner. Then, mounting his horse he started to return to the American Legation, where he resided. I have tried to fix exactly the localities at which the events, following this start for home, occurred, but I can not yet offer more than probable guesses about them. I am sure only that the tragedy of the hour culminated at, or near, the present Naka-no-hashii in the Akabane-cho of Shiba, on a path or road near the creek. That was the road leading most directly to the Zempukuji, from the Naka-no-hashii. Count Eulenberg, I think, probably lived just beyond, in a hotel, near the present Akabane-bashi.

Mr. Heusken was preceded by a mounted "Yaconin" who bore a lantern on which the "Tycoon's arms" were "emblazoned." He was "followed by two others." "When Mr. Heusken had proceeded a few hundred yards along the banks of the river, his road lay through some narrow streets in a densely populated quarter, in which the American Legation was situated. Shortly after entering these, a wild yell rose in the stillness of the night, and a band of some six or seven men lying in ambush for their victim rushed from their covert with drawn swords." The horse of the leading "Yaconin" was struck by the flat of a sword; he and his rider

at once disappeared. The two guards in the rear also fled.

Mr. Heusken, armed only with "a hunting whip," was defenseless under the swords of those "who were striking furiously at him from both sides." At first, unconscious of being wounded, he succeeded in breaking away from his assailants. He was able to ride on for about "a hundred paces." Then he fell ; and "there he lay, wholly deserted and weltering in his blood, it is not known exactly how long. It appears that his assassins felt satisfied that they had effectually done their work, for they did not follow him up ; and, as for his brave defenders, bearing the Tycoon's arms, they only returned with assistance after a long interval. He survived but an hour or two after his arrival at the Legation."

"Two Governors of Foreign Affairs were dispatched immediately," wrote Sir Rutherford," with condolences and assurances of justice, precisely as had been done when my linguist was assassinated under the flag-staff of the British Legation a twelve month before, since which time nothing had been heard of the assassins except that they could not be discovered. So it had been with eight successive victims ;—and so it followed with this last."

I find in Brinkley's record of this terrible anti-foreign demonstration a note of apologetic explication, to which I give repetition, as a plea that may, in a

measure, modify the severe judgment which history has laid upon the responsible leaders of public affairs at the time.

Ando, Lord of Tsushima, was the successor of the great Lord Ii. He was "charged with the conduct of foreign affairs for the Yedo Government. He was the same Ando whose habitual caution was the declaration that, if the *ronin* wanted to shed blood, they should kill him, or kill even the Shogun, rather than raise their hand against foreigners." Ando's statement to Minister Harris after the murder of Heusken was: "It is a source of profound regret to me that Heusken fell under the hand of lawless men, for a long work still lay before him to promote peace between Japanese and foreigners by making the latter acquainted with the truth about the former. I fear that his death means not only failure on our part to protect foreigners, but also the loss of one who was a connecting link between Japan and America. It is not his misfortune alone: it is Japan's misfortune. My sorrow is not less than yours!"

HEUSKEN'S BURIAL.

On January 18, by invitation of the American Minister, all members of the Diplomatic and Consular corps of Yedo and Kanagawa were assembled at the Zempukuji, "to render the last honors to the murdered man," when Mr. Harris received the astounding

warning from the Government that "if they persevered in their intention of following the body to the grave they were likely to lose their own lives." But "no one hesitated." The funeral ceremony was conducted as planned: and there stands upon record the statement, written then as evidence of the weakness or the indifference of the Shogun's Government and of the peril of the times, that not only "no vigorous protection was given to the funeral procession," but that there was a "total absence of any precautions to prevent an attack along the line of the road, which lay for more than a mile by the banks of a river and offered great facilities of attack from cross roads leading to it, and bridges which traversed it at short intervals."

This strange funeral procession of foreigners made its way, anxiously but without the feared attack, to the cemetery of the Korin-ji. It was a beautiful mid-winter day; "not a fleck or a cloud was in the sky to dim the sun's lustre." "Here, lying back on some rising ground not far from the banks of a little river that winds its tortuous way to the city, a picturesque site had been marked off for the dead." "Very sad and impressive was the gathering which there brought so many nationalities together. A large circle of Europeans formed the principal group, while in the background were some of the fraternity whose temple grounds were thus invaded. In the center of

the group is a Roman Catholic priest, in his white robes, and on a terrace, above the heads of all, stand five Japanese dignitaries, whose attendance is anything but voluntary on their part. The flags of four "Treaty Powers" (America, Great Britain, Holland and France) "are there, to which those of Prussia, not yet in the number, is joined ; and to the right the Representatives of those Powers are all present, surrounded by a strong guard of Prussian marines, no ship of war of any other nation being at the anchorage" (at Shinagawa, outside the forts, opposite the present railway station, then the place of landing). "The bier is covered by the American flag, for, though Dutch by birth, the murdered official was a servant of the United States. As the service proceeded, notes of sadness filled the air from the band of the Prussian frigate."

"Farewell to the dead ;—ashes to ashes, dust to dust."

"The flags are lowered, while with uncovered heads the Ministers each cast into the grave a handful of earth. In mute sorrow it is done ; for a murdered brother lies in that grave over which the flags of five European Powers are drooped in honor ; yet were they all powerless to protect from the hand of the assassin him now laid so low."

"The beauty of the site and clearness of the sky only contrasted the more painfully with the moral

features of the scene. A foreigner in his prime, the only son of a widowed mother, cut down in his strength and murdered by a band of political assassins in the streets of a great Eastern capital, lay in the grave round which the Representatives of the greatest Powers of the West stood mourning a wrong which they were helpless to redress." "If only we could trust the Government of the country we might find patience to meet the evils which may be inseparable from the effervescence of a sudden contact between two compounds so differently constituted as European and Japanese civilizations."

AN INTERNATIONAL CRISIS.

With the assassination of Mr. Heusken a crisis came at once in Japan's new international relations. Excepting the American Representative, all the foreign officials left Yedo for Yokohama. There they remained for some weeks, when a formal pledge was made by "the Tycoon" and "his Council of State, to provide effectually hereafter for the safety of the Legations, and their exemption from violence and menace." Receiving at Shinagawa a public welcome and a salute to the flags of their countries, a royal greeting hitherto unused, the Foreign Representatives then returned to Yedo and resumed their former official status.

But the fast failing sovereignty of the Shogunate

being unable to make good its pledges, the near future, in the passing of those troubled years, necessitated plentiful records of further menace, assault, and death among both Japanese and foreigners. Even within a few months after this solemn pledge was given, the British Legation was attacked by armed men, with the result that four men were killed and nineteen wounded ;—eight of these seriously, one of them mortally, wounded.

But it is not in place in this memorial to follow the course events took then. That lies plainly legible in the history of the times. The six years following Mr. Heusken's murder were full of internal strife for the nation and even of international warfare.

* * * * *

THE DAWN OF MEIJI :—"ENLIGHTENED PEACE."

But in 1868, came the fulfilment of the long struggle. The Shogunate was overthrown ; the Emperor was brought back into an actual reign after many centuries of practical exclusion from sovereignty ; comparative peace spread throughout the distracted Empire ; the foreigners, resident in the country, came at last under a real and gradually a friendly Government protection ; the period of "Enlightened Peace," *Meiji*, had, in fact, been begun, and Japan's progress as a member of the

great family of the world's nations had become assured.

Today, of course, we can not help remembering the forbidding past when we reverently recall the tragic careers of those who were victims to the evils which wrought suffering and death then. But that past has, in truth, become to us of these better days a memory free from passion or malevolence.

And we may now quietly ponder over the poet's faith that,

Knowledge by Suffering entereth ;
And Life is perfected by Death."

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